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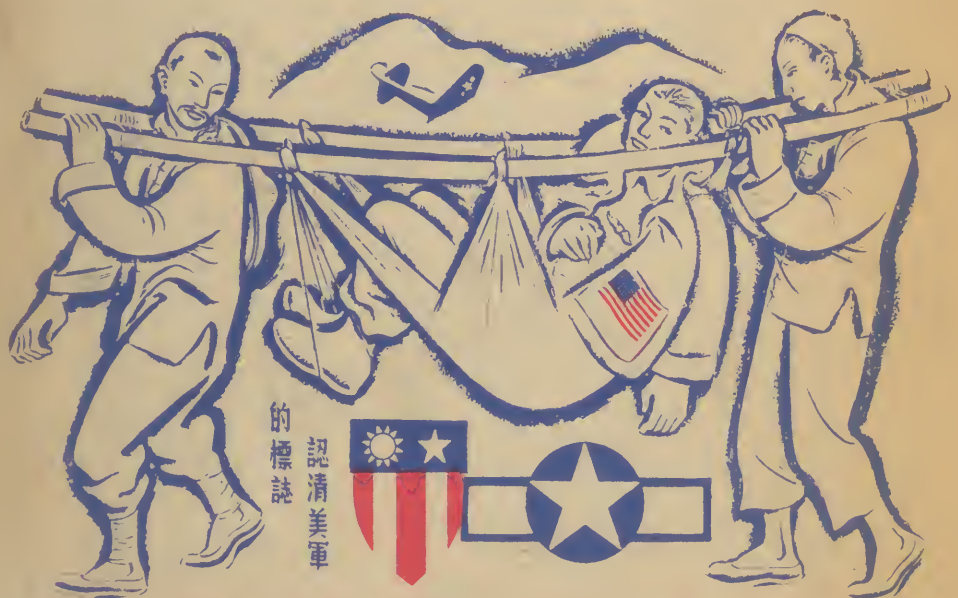
A SYLLABUS of PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE



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A SYLLABUS of PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

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PROPAGANDA BRANCH, INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, WDGS
THE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
OCTOBER, 1946

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Cover Illustration

The leaflet shown on the cover is an instance of the "civilian-action" type. It was an appeal to Chinese villagers to aid American airmen who might be wounded, to conceal them from Japanese, to facilitate their return to base. Another leaflet in the same series is shown in illustration number 8 on page 36.

Note

Instructional and informational material concerning psychological warfare has been requested in a considerable number of inquiries addressed to Propaganda Branch, Intelligence Division. This SYLLABUS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE has been prepared to meet such inquiries until more basic documentation is available. Psychological warfare, sometimes called military propaganda, is a subject new to formal American military doctrine; its definition in relation to other military topics will accordingly take special time and care. A field manual, a technical manual, ordnance and air studies and other appropriate documents are in course of preparation, but until they are approved for publication, no book or outline can be represented as expressing the official views and policies of the War Department. This SYLLABUS is designed to serve during the interim and it must be understood to be provisional in character. It will be superseded when the more formal publications become available.

This SYLLABUS is designed either for independent reading or for course instruction. It has been prepared by Major Paul M. A. Linebarger, AUS, who is in civilian life a professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D. C. Major Linebarger is also preparing a college-level textbook on psychological warfare. He has worked in this field at the old Psychological Warfare Branch, the O.W.I., the CBI and China Theater propaganda facilities and this Branch.

The Psychological Warfare Division, G-2, Army Ground Forces has closely cooperated in the preparation of this SYLLABUS for publication. Propaganda Branch issues and endorses this SYLLABUS only to the extent of making it available as an instructional aid.

Dana W. Johnston

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I. Definitions

¶1. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. Psychological warfare has been defined as warfare psychologically waged; that is, military operations carried out with close and studied reference to the politics, opinion, and morale of the enemy. It is not in this sense that the term has been used in American practice during World War II. Psychological warfare has been, more narrowly, defined as comprising the use of propaganda against an enemy, together with such other operational measures of a military nature as the effective use of propaganda may require.

¶2. PROPAGANDA. Propaganda may be loosely described as "organized non-violent persuasion." More technically, it may be defined for Army purposes as follows: Military propaganda consists of the planned use of any form of communication designed to affect the minds and emotions of a given enemy, neutral, or friendly foreign group for a specific strategic or tactical purpose.

¶3. OVERT PROPAGANDA. Overt or "white" propaganda is propaganda which is officially or otherwise plainly issued from a known source. (See Illustrations #1, #4, or #5, as opposed to #9, which falsely implies that it is of American origin.)

¶4. COVERT PROPAGANDA. Covert or "black" propaganda is issued from a concealed or falsified source. (Illustration #9; or a radio station which pretends to be a "freedom station" and is actually operated by one of the belligerent powers.)

¶5. STRATEGIC PROPAGANDA. Strategic propaganda is directed at enemy forces, enemy peoples or enemy-occupied areas in their entirety and--in coordination with other strategically planned means--is designed to effectuate results sought over a long period of time.

¶6. TACTICAL PROPAGANDA. Tactical propaganda (sometimes called "combat propaganda") is directed at specific audiences, and is prepared and executed in support of combat operations.

¶7. CONSOLIDATION PROPAGANDA. Consolidation propaganda is directed toward civil populations in areas occupied by a military force and is designed to insure compliance with the commands promulgated by the commander of the occupying force.

¶8. COUNTERPROPAGANDA. Counterpropaganda is designed to refute a specific point or theme of enemy propaganda.

¶9. POLITICAL WARFARE. Political warfare (also called "crisis diplomacy," or "the war of nerves," or the "diplomacy of dramatic intimidation") consists of the framing of national policy in such a way as to facilitate propaganda or military operations, whether with respect to the direct political relations of governments to one another or in relation to groups of persons possessing a political character.

¶10. MEDIA. The devices by means of which the communication is conveyed. (In everyday life, the most common media are the living voice, the telephone, print, and the typewriter. In war propaganda, the most common media are voice radio, wireless in plain code, leaflets and pamphlets.)

II. Psychological Warfare, 1914-1918

¶11. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. In the first World War, psychological warfare was employed chiefly by means of political warfare and through combat propaganda which used air-borne and artillery-fired leaflets. Radio was not available.

¶12. POLITICAL WARFARE OF THE CENTRAL POWERS AND THE ALLIES. The Central Powers used very old-fashioned political warfare. They were reactionary monarchies, legitimist in outlook, and were unable to exploit the revolutionary, democratic or autonomist sentiments of the time. Their chief political warfare exploits consisted of inducing Turkey to proclaim a jihad against the Allies; since the Turkish sultan was the titular caliph of all Islam, this seemed promising but was countered by local measures (T. E. Lawrence and the Arab revolt against Turkey, for example) in the Middle East, and of the assistance offered to Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders by the German General Staff. The Germans gave Lenin, a subject of the Czar, transit from Switzerland to Finland in the expectation that Lenin would enter Russia, commit high treason against the Czar, and take Russia out of the war. He did so, but the ensuing wave of Communist revolution contributed to the defeat of Germany as well.

Allied psychological warfare was based preeminently on the political warfare developed by President Woodrow Wilson. The United States entered the war in 1917 with a clear conscience, since the Kaiser's government was plainly the aggressor. Immediately upon participation, the U. S. government strove for the Fourteen Points. These assured both Allies and enemies that the United States sought no new territory as a result of war, that we stood for open diplomacy, that we believed in a "league to enforce peace" which would make further war impossible. They also promised democratic self-government to the hitherto-suppressed nationalities of the Baltic and Central Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, etc.). This democratic political offensive was propagandized by official government action, but its greatest effect was achieved when it was carried by ordinary news channels all over the world.

British political warfare supplemented American effectively. In special cases, the British accomplished even more striking results. Against Turkey they rallied the Arab states, while rallying world-wide Jewish Zionist help to their side by promising the Jews a national home in Palestine (Balfour Declaration). India was quieted, in the face of German, Turkish, and revolutionary propaganda, by the Montagu statement and Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Japanese political warfare during World War I was directed at her co-Ally, China.

At the end of the war, the Allies faced a serious problem in the revolutionary propaganda of the Russian Communists, who had established a Soviet communist form of state which denied the legitimacy of all other states. The Soviet leaders expected revolution to break out throughout the world. Communist revolts did occur in Hungary, Bavaria, Berlin and elsewhere. The Allies countered these with military intervention on the side of the Conservatives in Russia and with diplomatic and military aid to the states around Russia ("cordon sanitaire"). The reciprocal bitterness and suspicion which resulted from this clash between Allies and Bolsheviks later provided a line of cleavage which Hitler utilized in preparing World War II.

¶14. THE CREEL COMMITTEE. The national propaganda agency of the United States government--the Committee on Public Information, usually known by the name of its chairman, George Creel--was the "Creel Committee." This was actually an emergency wartime department of the government. It was set up by order of the President and was financed out of his special war funds, later supplemented by congressional appropriations. The Creel Committee organized both domestic and foreign propaganda. (There was no War Department or General Staff agency charged with the military side of psychological warfare.) Coordination was effected by Mr. Creel himself; he had close access to the President and to the appropriate cabinet members.

¶15. DOMESTIC PROPAGANDA. Internal propaganda within the United States was more difficult than it was to be in World War II. The decision to declare war had to be taken by the United States. The Germans had been too clever to unite us, as did the Japanese with their psychological blunder at Pearl Harbor, by means of an overt attack on American territory. The Creel Committee had the normal problems of wartime morale (slackers, profiteers, inert people); it also had well-organized groups of Irish-Americans (Ireland then being anti-British), German-Americans and powerful isolationists to counter. The Committee proceeded vigorously on the domestic front. Since there was no radio, it organized "Four Minute Men," standardized public speakers who carried war messages throughout the country. It served the press by systematizing government information policy. It used posters, advertising, cartoons, civic clubs, the theatre, movies, and women's organizations as outlets for its material. The political warfare--the extent of the promises made for a democratic, war-free, prosperous post-war world--probably contributed to the post-1918 reaction against "propaganda" which continued down to World War II; in retrospect, it appears excessive and certain to have caused post-war disappointment and embarrassment to the government.

¶16. TACTICAL PROPAGANDA. Leaflets were the chief means of battle-front propaganda on the Western front. The Germans threatened to

take measures against British airplane pilots who dropped leaflets, so that the British and Americans relied chiefly on mortars and balloons. In General Pershing's headquarters, a section G-2 D was organized for "psychologic" warfare, and tactical leaflets were showered on the German lines. These included surrender passes; forms on which Germans could notify their families that they were safe, pictures of well-fed prisoners of war in American hands; political attacks on Kaiserism and on Prussian control of non-Prussian Germany; leaflets giving the German troops the correct news of the war, when bad; and emphasis on the democratic aims of the Allies. German profiteers and capitalists were attacked. Chief emphasis was on food, however, since the Germans were starving, and on the fact that the Americans had arrived in Europe in large numbers and that millions more were coming. Post-1918 German commentators (including Ludendorff and Hitler) blamed Germany's defeat on Allied propaganda, and credited the Allies with effective professional propaganda. Part of the German willingness to admire Allied propaganda must be discounted, since the German admiration was based in part on an unwillingness to admit loss of the war by military means. Nevertheless, propaganda was a major ingredient of Allied victory in World War I.

¶17. THE INTER-WAR PERIOD. The Communists used propaganda as a major weapon for achieving and consolidating their rule in Russia, and used propaganda for the attempted subversion of "capitalist states". This tended to identify propaganda as something which "Bolsheviks" could use, but which established governments could not counter-employ. In tactical psychological warfare, propaganda was the main feature of Chiang Kai-shek's preliminary unification of China; he had studied Russian irregular warfare and psychological warfare in Moscow.

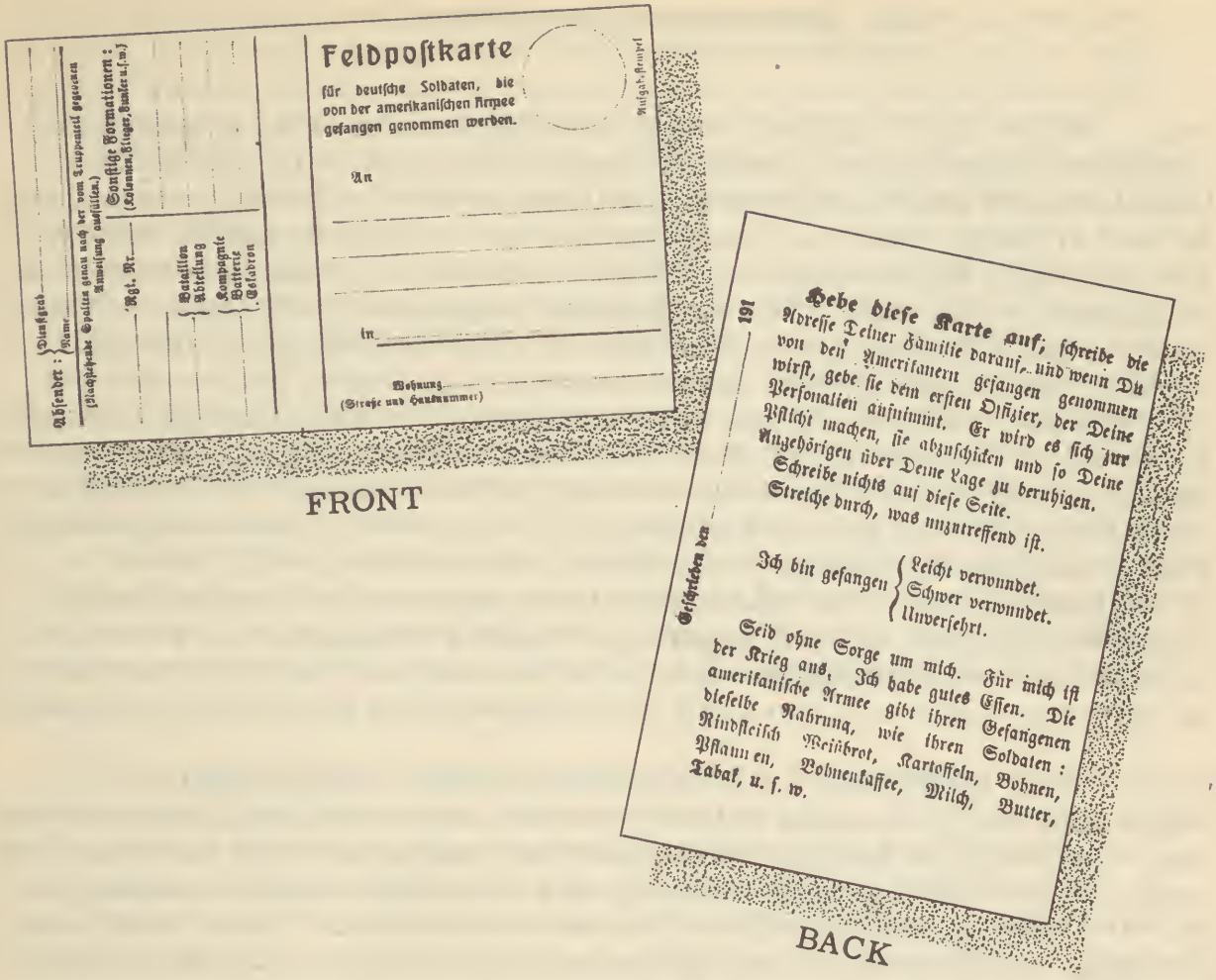


Illustration #1. American Combat Leaflet, World War I. Although the leaflet uses the German form of the Feldpostkarte and copies the make-up of the original German, it is not "black" propaganda, since there is no attempt to conceal either source or intent. The postcard is to be handed to the first American officer whom the prisoner sees after he surrenders. By marking out appropriate entries, he can send the message to his family that he is well, well-cared for and getting "beef, white bread, beans, plums, genuine coffee-bean coffee, milk, butter, tobacco. . ."--all of them items unprocurable inside Germany.

III. Experience of World War II

¶18. THE NAZIS AS PROPAGANDISTS. In order to gain control of Germany, the National Socialist German Workers' Party, as Hitler called himself and his followers, had to use psychological warfare methods in time of peace. This was made possible by the breach of faith between Left and Right in Germany, each of which had become acutely conscious of propaganda. (The Left, KPD, or German Communist Party, was so propaganda-sensitive that all considerations of constitutionalism or internal security had to be reviewed on the assumption that other parties were propaganda-conscious and that every political move was filled with propaganda value. This stultified their own effectiveness. The anti-Nazis never united successfully.) The Nazis cynically tried to learn from Communist experience and soon gained a mastery of mass media. They used posters, rumor campaigns, personal intimidation, mass rallies, radio, and a coordinated press. They learned strategic psychological warfare techniques--simplicity, clarity, repetition, splitting the opponents, alternate appeasement and intimidation of antagonists--on their way to power within Germany. Once in power, they subordinated their politics to propaganda.

¶19. EFFECTS OF OVER-EMPHASIZED PROPAGANDA. The Nazis over-did propaganda to the extent that neither the Nazi party members nor, even less, the German people could tell what they really wanted. They could not even find out what Germany as a whole was doing or planning to do. The government controlled all news, entertainment, radio, telegraphs; the mails were not secret; publishing was under license. Opposition had to be violent and illegal ("purges"). Secret police and internal espionage used terror against the home population. This gave the Germans a united country. They did not have to worry about cheap, insincere, or fatuous opposition. They did not have to put up with foreign or private propaganda. But they paid a terrible price for this false security, since they lost all chance of finding out their own true economic, political or legal position. By being too suspicious of outside propaganda, they made themselves the utter, willing dupes of Hitlerite propaganda. Propaganda not only put Hitler into power; it helped to keep him there after all other parties were "unified" into the Nazi party or else suppressed, and after criticism and opposition gave the Germans no further chance to check up on him or to oppose him, except through high treason. The evils of the private press were ended; the evils of a single-party system and a controlled press were greater.

¶20. THE CONQUEST OF AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. After achieving power within Germany, Hitler began applying the same tactics in his foreign affairs. He called the bluff of the Allies by re-

militarizing the Rhineland, by making it seem a mere matter of prestige. He bullied Austria into submission; Nazi troops crossed the frontier without opposition and reduced the whole country without having to fight. This was accomplished by careful analysis of public opinion in the possible enemy states and by the use of propaganda to scare the victim while assuring all other prospective victims that the occasion in question was the last aggression. Hitler used psychological warfare in the broad sense as well as strategic and tactical propaganda. In 1938, with the Munich crisis, he scored his greatest victory in psychological warfare. The Western democracies (France, England) agreed to the partition of Czechoslovakia in a conference with the Axis (Italy, Germany) while the Russians were excluded from the bargaining. Hitler's propaganda emphasized German claims to the Czech territory in question, and promised no more aggression. Using the threat of force and the manipulation of anti-World War opinion in the democracies themselves, Hitler's propaganda won. A few months later he took the rest of Czechoslovakia and followed that by bullying Russia into a neutrality agreement. The scene was ready for further aggression. Psychological warfare had made the victims themselves agree to each single aggression, had made them hope it was the last, and had kept them from forming an alliance to meet the common danger.

¶21. MILITARY THREAT BEHIND THE PROPAGANDA OPERATION. These successes could not have been won if suspicions between Communists and democratic countries had not been high, if anti-war sentiment had not been so strong, if Hitler had been more frank about his ultimate aims. Furthermore, they could not have been won if psychological warfare had not been backed up by a very real threat of armed force. Hitler did not begin his major aggressions until he had a military edge on his opponents, and his propaganda made his strength seem greater than it was. Whenever he was not operating he let his army and Luftwaffe seem weak, and encouraged the idea he was unready; but crises were underscored with the threat of real military force. Unless the force had actually been there, the powers of Europe would not have yielded. This demonstrates the axiom that psychological warfare cannot work purely by itself; it needs force or the very real threat of force to make it effective. (The German General Staff after the war admitted that Germany's bluff could have been called, but Hitler never left the opposition (no way out). He always offered peace as the reward for non-interference in his one particular demand of the time. He never forced all demands at once, so that his enemies could look at the German armed forces, estimate the situation, estimate the cost of war, and make a reasoned decision as to whether beating the Germans or giving in were better.)

¶22. THE BLACK PROPAGANDA OF THE AXIS FIFTH COLUMN. One of Franco's generals boasted as his forces invested Madrid: "I have five columns. Four here. And a fifth column inside the city." From this

phrase there derived the term fifth column to designate active clandestine operators. Unlike the espionage agent, the fifth columnist seeks to take an active part in the war. He may perform sabotage, instigate rebellion, launch whispering campaigns, prepare for an uprising. The spy has two main jobs: to find fact; to communicate it. The fifth columnist has one job: to make trouble. Whenever Hitler's war of nerves against the democracies struck at morale, the morale was already readied for his blow. His agents sowed dissension throughout Europe and--to a lesser degree--the rest of the world. One of their main functions was black propaganda. This was not Nazi propaganda except in the sense that the Nazis paid for it and expected to benefit by it. It might be any kind of propaganda which heated up the controversies in the anti-Nazi camps. It might take the form of anti-Nazism, provided it did so in such a way as to defeat its purpose. Many of its instruments were unconscious of its Nazi origin. In the early part of World War II, the situation was complicated by the fact that the Communist clandestine operatives had the same short-range goals as the Nazis: discredit of the capitalist democracies, denunciation of the imperialist war, and so forth. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, the Communist propaganda line shifted over to support of anti-Nazi military operations.

The fifth column is considered to have made a major contribution to the fall of France. In Norway, a minority of ultra-patriotic fanatics under Vidkun Quisling helped the Germans occupy the country. The tactics of the fifth column cannot be summarized: they involved cutting communications, telephoning false orders, destruction of bridges, calling of strikes, and anything else which would work certain mischief. (Popular writers, since the invention of the atomic bomb, have predicted that a major duty of future fifth columns will be the concealment of atomic bombs in enemy territory. If these were radio-sensitive, one dash on the right wavelength would send the enemy cities white-hot into the stratosphere.)

¶23. POLITICAL WARFARE. Political warfare in World War II was more obvious and less effective than in World War I. Many countries had two governments (India, France, Holland, the Philippines); some even had three (Jugoslavia, Poland). Appeals for support of these governments were made by every available propaganda means. The United Nations sometimes had the government-in-exile (Norway, Holland, Luxembourg); sometimes the Axis had it (Provisional Government of Free India). The three-cornered character of political warfare arose from the presence of rival democratic and Communist governments, both on the United Nations side. The chief lesson learned by all participants was the fact that when a country is occupied, a certain percentage of the population, however small, is going to show improper private ambition and volunteer to serve the enemy; the conquerors, far from having to prepare quisling governments in advance, were almost universally embarrassed by the different cliques of traitors who volunteered to serve the occupying powers.

Parce que ils ont compris que cette guerre n'est pas un simple conflit entre nations, mais bien le heurt de deux idéologies. D'un côté, un peuple qui vient d'accomplir sa révolution sociale et de l'autre, l'internationale Judéo-capitaliste qui, non sans angoisse, voit se lever l'aube d'un renouveau qui n'est pas sans danger pour nos intérêts.

Parce que ils vomissent notre race, la race juive, et qu'ils veulent la mettre, une fois pour toutes, dans l'impossibilité de poursuivre son œuvre de corruption et de désagrégation.

Parce que ils veulent éliminer définitivement les ploutocrates et autres parasites qui vivent de la sueur du peuple.

Parce que ce sont des hommes virils, sains et dynamiques qui méprisent les «zozous» qui sont le produit d'une société en pleine décomposition.

Parce que ils ont vu le bolchevisme chez lui et parce qu'ils ne le veulent pas en France; parce qu'ils connaissent la bestialité et l'effroyable asservissement de ceux qui vivent sous notre despotisme.

Parce que ils veulent pour leurs travailleurs le respect auquel ils ont droit, en même temps que l'assurance définitive d'une EXISTENCE DIGNE.

Parce que ils veulent une Europe unie qui ne s'épuisera plus tous les 25 ans dans une tuerie atroce pour les besoins de notre coffre-fort.

Parce que ils veulent pour cette Patrie, à laquelle ils ont voué leur vie, une place de choix dans l'Europe de demain.

Parce que nous sommes des destructeurs et qu'ils appartiennent à la race des constructeurs.

Parce que fiers de leurs traditions et d'un passé glorieux, ils veulent balayer tout ce qui causa leur médiocrité et CONSTRUIRE LEUR AVENIR.

Parce que leur foi est inébranlable et parce qu'ils ne déposeront pas les armes avant le triomphe final.

Parce que ce sont des soldats héroïques, aussi humains dans la paix qu'ils sont courageux au combat.

VOILA POURQUOI J'ACCUSE LES HOMMES DE LA WAFFEN-SS.

ENGAGEMENTS - RENSEIGNEMENTS
Ersatzkommando Frankreich der Waffen-SS
24, Avenue du Recteur-Poincaré - Paris-16e

Autorisation n° 29.848.

Illustration #2. German leaflet attempting counterpropaganda to Allied radio broadcasts beamed at France.

¶24. RADIO PROPAGANDA. In Europe, especially, the widespread possession of radio sets made it possible for the belligerents to use standard-wave radio broadcasting as a regular means of getting propaganda into enemy territory. The following, in approximate order of importance, were the materials transmitted:

a. Official speeches by government leaders.

b. Official communiques.

c. News of the world, most of it true, but so arranged as to favor one side or the other.

d. Special features (regular lectures, debates, "educational programs").

e. Regularly scheduled commentators (either white or black).

f. Ostensibly private or independent speakers.

g. Black stations (British-sponsored "Gustav Siegfried Eins"; German "Lord Haw Haw"; American " Operation Annie").

h. Planted or falsified news quoted from its ostensible source by official radio, while the official radio disclaimed responsibility.

i. "Ghost" voices or programs, cut in on an enemy wave-length either while enemy radio was on the air or when enemy stations went off because of air raids.

Jamming was not found to be successful except as an interference; it never interdicted all listening to the jammed stations. More feasible anti-radio measures were those taken to prevent use of materials heard over the air; listeners were punished or killed in Axis Europe. Since radio propagandists on both sides counted on the indirect audience (people who were told what the radio had said), restriction of propaganda to the direct audience (people who actually heard the broadcast) amounted to a definite control.

¶25. COUNTERPROPAGANDA AGAINST RADIO. On-the-ground counterpropaganda was attempted. Newspapers on each side were given materials with which to confute radio claims of the enemy. The strength of the democracies showed in that the British and Americans could talk the matter through in their domestic propaganda media, while the Germans and Italians, having made all domestic publishing into propaganda, had no

impartial-looking agency to which to carry an appeal against propaganda. The anti-radio measures included poster and leaflet operations. Illustration #2 shows a German attempt to refute Allied claims that the Waffen-SS (militarized Hitlerite elite guard) was a gang of thugs and murderers; the German leaflet shows the enemy broadcaster as a Jew saying, "I accuse the men of the Waffen-SS!"--of such things as believing in the future, wanting to help France, preventing recurrent world wars, being heroic soldiers.

¶26. TYPES OF CIVILIAN AUDIENCES. Civilian audiences for both radio and leaflet propaganda were often divided into five categories:

a. The home audience;
b. Allies;
c. Friendly or impartial neutrals;
d. Enemy satellites and hostile neutrals;
e. The enemy audience.

Different programs had to be worked out in each case.

¶27. THE PROPAGANDA OUTPOST. For home, allied, and neutral audience, it was possible for the propagandists to move into the city with the audience, to rent an office, go talk to local newspapermen, make arrangements with local theaters, and carry on through the normal procedures of publicity. The picture exhibit and the "cultural" enterprise were among the major undertakings. (Things which were not entertaining enough to be called recreation were frequently listed as "culture"--specialized lectures, exchange of professors, etc.) The propaganda outpost possessed the inestimable advantage of direct contact. When the outpost was in a neutral country, it provided a channel through which material could be given to visiting enemies; or the neutral press, circulating in enemy territory, could be primed with items calculated to do psychological harm to the enemy.

¶28. NEWS LEAFLETS. For both civilian and military enemies, news was one of the main forms of United Nations propaganda against the Axis and enemy-occupied countries. The free nations had a more open news policy, so that the Germans could not use news as freely in reprisal. For civilian audiences, this took the form of miniature airborne newspapers dropped over the enemy by plane. When the military situation became static, such newspapers were dropped on enemy troops as well (see Illustrations #6 and #10). When great events occurred, it usually was found more impressive to get out a special news leaflet summarizing the event. Often these were prepared in advance (D-Day; Russo-Japanese war; fall of Paris); sometimes they had to be worked out at top speed (Roosevelt's death; atomic bomb; Japanese offer to surrender).

¶29. CIVILIAN ACTION LEAFLETS. Leaflets sometimes requested the civilians to perform a specific function. Leaflets like those shown in Illustration #8 were dropped over Occupied China to deny the Japanese the use of Chinese labor in maintaining his line of communications. Since much of the Japanese logistics depended on local help, this was a major undertaking. The propaganda leaflets from the OWI-CBI, distributed by the 14th Air Force, called for the Chinese to stay away from railroads and the texts told the Chinese that their American friends did not desire to bomb them. This was perfectly true. Coolie transport columns sometimes disappeared overnight after being peppered with such leaflets, leaving the Japanese sitting in the middle of nowhere with more gear than they could carry. The cover illustration is another action leaflet, calling for help to be given downed American flyers.

¶30. CIVILIAN MORALE LEAFLETS. Leaflets which had neither news nor special action calls often aimed at enemy morale as a whole, to run it downwards, or at allied morale, to keep it up. Morale leaflets, when effective, most commonly exploited some definite enemy weakness, such as lowered rations, the execution of hostages, denial of furloughs to enlisted fathers.

¶31. BLACK LEAFLETS. Often an enemy situation would arise in which black leaflets could be used. If the enemy issued a complicated new ration card, the dropping of a few million forgeries was certain to embarrass his rationing. Official-looking imitations of enemy documents were dropped, giving "secret" orders to do something highly distasteful to the enemy population. Sometimes an enemy newspaper would be duplicated. Handbooks for malingerers were used by both sides. Soviet propaganda developed some exceedingly handsome "militarist German" attacks on Hitler and his gang as not being Junker enough.

¶32. COMBAT PROPAGANDA. Comparable leaflets were used for strategic propaganda to troops. News and morale leaflets were of the same general types; sometimes the same leaflet was used for both audiences. Action leaflets, however, were not in most instances applicable to military personnel and civilians both. The commonest action leaflet for troops was, of course, the surrender pass or surrender leaflet. The most famous and effective of these is the Passierschein issued from SHAEF (see Illustration #11). Combat propaganda also made use of loudspeakers.

¶33. GIFTS AND NOVELTIES. A sensational but minor field of experiment concerned the dropping of matches, chocolate, needles, salt and other gifts by an air force. Countermeasures to this sometimes consisted in dropping duplicates of the enemy gift, but fixing the duplicates so as to make the receivers suspicious of all such gifts (poisoned chocolate, nauseous salt, etc.).

¶34. TERROR DEVICES. A still less important range of experiment concerned the creation of terror devices--whistles attached to shells, weapon drops to imaginary undergrounds, etc. Though often interesting, these played no appreciable part in the war as a whole. The German attacks on Holland, Belgium and France made very liberal use of such methods. This field overlaps in part with orthodox military deception procedures, such as were illustrated in the post-war press photographs of dummy tanks, jeeps, etc., which were made of rubber and could be inflated.

¶35. SYSTEMATIZATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. The major development of psychological warfare during World War II may perhaps be summed up in terms of its systematization. The war brought forth few wholly new devices, outside of the use of radio. The novelty consisted of the close integration of psychological warfare with national policy on the one hand and with military operations on the other. All major participants, to a greater or less degree, utilized military propaganda units as aids to field operations. The increased use of air power made possible the dissemination of leaflets, pamphlets and occasional books on a tremendous scale. Fitting all these operations to the national governments, the theater or field army headquarters, all appropriate military echelons, and then coordinating propaganda operations one with the other was a task which could not have been accomplished without the plentiful use of the radio and the duplicating machine. World War II made psychological warfare a continuous, systematic, and purposeful part of the general conduct of war. (See Paragraph 58.)

¶36. CONSOLIDATION PROPAGANDA. The value of psychological warfare did not end with the cessation of hostilities. Consolidation propaganda, carried out under the authority of the military headquarters in charge of occupation, proved invaluable in conveying commands of the occupying power to the populace concerned. By the use of propaganda, cooperation was ensured much more swiftly; greater public interest was aroused; and persons friendly to the occupying power were given a chance to step forward and to assist the occupation. In the case of friendly or dubious areas, consolidation facilities put local publishing and broadcasting back on schedule and assured the military of a means of getting help from the people.

¶37. COLLECTION. Propaganda analysis is valuable to the non-propagandist as a source of news and intelligence. The news or intelligence is in turn valuable for two unrelated purposes: first, for the indication of national or military policy which the attempted mission of the propaganda itself either forecasts or indicates; secondly, for the incidental content of factual material which is used to make up the propaganda. In order to analyze propaganda lines and to glean the valuable fact out of the propaganda material, it is necessary to collect the propaganda. This depends, in difficulty, on the remoteness of the area covered, and on the controls involved. In peacetime, a great deal of propaganda can be acquired by the process of subscribing or even asking for it. In wartime, propaganda collection must be undertaken along with ordinary military intelligence collection from the enemy home area; from neutral areas, it can be gotten by ordinary means; in one's own territory, the only problem is that of definition. Radio materials can be collected by having a living monitor listen to the programs, writing them down or summarizing them, or by making recordings of appropriate material and processing them at leisure.

¶38. MONITORING. Since even the non-propagandist cannot use propaganda analysis unless it deals with up-to-date (sometimes up-to-the-minute) materials, good monitoring is essential. Signal Corps receivers require no modification unless recordings are to be made. Monitoring of radio.material simply consists of putting it down in convenient form.

¶39. SPOT ANALYSIS. The psychological warfare operator takes the most current propaganda materials and prepares a brief summary of the news content and of the probable motive of the enemy for using that particular propaganda at that time. (See Paragraph 45.) He is then in a position to develop his own propaganda with reference to the propaganda situation as seen by the enemy. Slavish submission to enemy initiative is a bad idea in propaganda. Normally, the sound operative uses the spot analysis for his own information, but he does not necessarily try to confute enemy propaganda point by point. He tries to counter with strong, independent propaganda lines of his own.

¶40. AREA ANALYSIS. More systematic propaganda analysis requires the collection of all available propaganda materials from a given area for a specific period of time. These materials are then broken down in terms of media which they employ, and each is searched for the probable

motive of the issuer. In a large, free country like the United States, this is a very difficult and complicated task. In a nation which has a dictatorial or one-party government controlling all media of communication, or in a small nation, it is possible to work out an analysis of the major propaganda pressures operating within the country.

When a whole nation is too large an area, the area of analysis can be cut down by procurement of materials from a single city, province, or zone. The important point about area analysis consists of getting a representative sampling (such as all the newspapers published in Rome or Munich or Shanghai on a given day).

¶41. TIME OR DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS. In order to find out what a single propaganda source is doing, the source should be covered day by day, week by week, or month by month. The content of the source can be broken down into percentages (of time, for radio; of columns or square inches, for printed material). The emphasis will become plain as soon as the different percentages are noted on ordinary graph paper. Further study will show what the source is trying to accomplish with each emphasis.

¶42. STRATEGIC PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS. For generalizations about the over-all opinion of a given national group, it is necessary to count as propaganda everything to which the persons concerned have access. For these purposes, it does not matter whether movies have a propaganda slant or not; the fact that 69 percent may have no propaganda slant will itself be a propaganda factor of prime importance. The propaganda presentation consists of all public information to which the persons concerned have access. The propaganda operator must consider the propaganda presentation--that is, his own materials and all other public communications, whatever the kind--before he can even guess the success of a given technique. National morale (before, during, and after war) cannot be gauged by a single propaganda source, but must include a scheduled appraisal of all the contributing factors to the public opinion of the nation concerned.

¶43. PROPAGANDA IDENTIFICATION. The propaganda analyst will find that there is no magic formula by means of which he can unfailingly identify propaganda. Human beings are highly communicative and almost all two billion of them talk a great deal of their waking time. Propaganda is distinguished from conversation, education, private quarrels, recreation, romance, ordinary monologues, etc., by the fact that it is communicated intentionally. It is not the content of the communication, but the motive which impels it, which distinguishes propaganda from non-propaganda. This is like saying that propaganda is propaganda when it is propaganda; to a certain extent this unsatisfactory definition is correct.

However, few communications come from completely unknown sources; when they are, they are often mistrusted. The propaganda analyst must therefore take into account the source, whether ostensible or real, the timing, the people to whom the communication is addressed, and the probable effect which that communication will have on those people at that particular time before he can find the source, if the source is hidden. If the source is not hidden, the whole process is out in the open. (See Paragraph 45.) Thus, even with a hidden source, it is feasible to work back to the probable source by analyzing the probable effect.

¶44. PROPAGANDA VERSUS TRUTH. Good propaganda does not make use of lies. Good propaganda is truthful, except in very extraordinary circumstances. Good propaganda uses the truth selectively. It directs to the audience those truths which will accomplish the results which the propagandist seeks, and withholds those truths which accomplish no particular purpose. To test for propaganda by looking for lies is therefore impractical and unprofitable. The test for propaganda is a dynamic test. It must consider not only the information, but the life-history of the communication. Where does it come from? To whom is it going? Why now? What for? The statement, "People who work get paid," can be propaganda or not, depending on who says it to whom, when, why and on whose behalf. (The reader might try to develop this statement into anti-Russian propaganda by Germans, anti-American propaganda by Germans, anti-German propaganda by Russians, and anti-German propaganda by Americans. The timing, the persons to whom it is addressed, the way it is said, what is said with it--these make it propaganda or not.) There is no conflict between propaganda and truth. Good propaganda uses truth. But the highest truth, in a free civilization, not under totalitarian or ideological control, is deemed to be the truth uttered by disinterested persons who have no ulterior motive in communicating it.

¶45. THE FORMULA FOR A SINGLE ITEM. In large-scope propaganda analysis, it is desirable to proceed quantitatively. Only highly experienced personnel should attempt to weight different parts of a given output in order to guess the weighting given by the source. (The Americans may consider the 1000-hours news program the best item off Radio Nirgends; the Nirgenders themselves may not have thought of that program as their best. Hence, qualitative weighting, unless source itself gives very plain clues, such as using a front page or picking a popular listeners' hour, is dangerous for effective analysis.) When a single item is to be broken down, a careful propaganda analysis formula could be developed on the basis of the following outline;

COMPLETE BREAKDOWN OF A SINGLE PROPAGANDA ITEM

a. Source
   (1) True source ("where does it really come from?")
      (a) Release channel ("how did it come out?") if different from true source without concealing true source
      (b) Person or institution in whose name material originates
      (c) Transmitting channel ("who got it to us?"), person or institution effecting known transmission--omitting, of course, analyst's own procurement facilities
   (2) Ostensible source ("where does it pretend to come from?")
      (a) Release channel ("who is supposed to be passing it along?")
   (3) First-use and second-use source (first use, "who is said to have used this first?"; second use, "who pretends to be quoting someone else?")
      (a) Connection between second-use source and first-use source, usually in the form of attributed or unacknowledged quotation; more rarely, plagiarism
      (b) Modification between use by first-use and second-use sources, when both are known
         (i) Deletions
         (ii) Changes in text
         (iii) Enclosure within editorial matter of transmitter
         (iv) Falsification which appears deliberate
         (v) Effects of translation from one language to another

b. Time
   (1) Time of events or utterance to which subject-matter refers
   (2) Time of transmission (publishing, broadcasting, etc.)
   (3) Timing of repetitions
   (4) Reasons, if any are evident, for peculiarities of timing

c. Audience
   (1) Intended direct audience ("in English to North America"; "a paper for New York restaurant operators")
   (2) Intended indirect audience (program beamed "in English to North America" but actually reaching Hongkong and Singapore by deliberate plan of the sender; "a paper for New York restaurant operators" being faked and sent to Southeast Europe in fact)
   (3) Unintended audience (a Guadalcanal native studying Esquire; your aunt reading the Infantry Journal; a Chinese reading American wartime speeches against the "yellow devils" of Japan)
   (4) Ostensibly-unintended direct audience (such as an appeal to strikers in very abusive-sounding language, sent to businessmen to build up opinion against the strikers, or Hitler's use of the fake Protocols of the Elders of Zion)

d. Subject ("what does it say?")
   (1) Content listed under any convenient heading as though it were straight news or intelligence
   (2) Content epitomized as deomonstrating new propaganda technique (such as, "now they're trying to get us out of Tientsin by appeals to our isolationists!")
   (3) Content which may be useful in counterpropaganda (such as, "they said that the Greeks are our witless puppets, so let's pass that along to the Greeks")
   (4) Significance of content for intelligence analysis (example: when the Japanese boasted about their large fish catch, it was an indication their fishing fleet was short of gasoline again, and that the fish catch was actually small; when the Nazis accused the Jews of sedition, it meant that rations were short and that the Nazi government was going to appease the populace by denying the Jews their scanty rations by way of contrast)

e. Mission
   (1) Nation, group, or person attacked
   (2) Relation to previous items with the same or related missions
   (3) Particular psychological approach used in this instance (such as wedge-driving between groups, or between people and leaders, or between armed services; or demoralization of audience in general; or decrease of listeners' faith in the news)
   (4) Known or probable connection with originator's propaganda plan or strategy

This outline may be remembered by the initials of the key words--the five main headings in order--as the STASM formula. The outline is not final or authoritative, and propaganda analysis performed for governmental or military establishments should, of course, conform to the schedule prescribed in the agency concerned. Used in conjunction with a quantitative graph, however, an outline of this type will in the course of use provide a reasonably complete index to the operations of any person, party, group,or government.

¶46. PROPANAL AND FOREIGN OR ENEMY MORALE. Propaganda analysis is sometimes called propanal for short as an administrative convenience; propanal can be used as an intelligence tool of prime importance. A person desiring to spy out just what sickness an ill man had could do so by waiting at the pharmacist's and seeing just what prescriptions were being taken to the patient; similarly, conditions in a foreign (in wartime, even an enemy) country can be systematically guessed, with a high probability factor in favor of the analyst, if the domestic propaganda of the government concerned is analyzed. The home government of any country uses

propaganda--whatever it may be called for courtesy's sake--as a tool of government. Careful scrutiny of what the propaganda is designed to do will give indications of what is wrong inside the country concerned. Few nations, for example, are capable of waging aggressive war without getting their own people ready for war. If a foreign country accused the United States to its own people of being power-mad, imperialistic, meddlesome, threatening and aggressive, while broadcasting to us nothing but fairly calm news materials, it might indicate that:

a. The country was preparing to launch a surprise attack on the United States, the leaders using our alleged aggressiveness as preparation for the statement, "The Americans shot first!", while not exciting us any more than possible, before the attack; or

b. Conditions in the country concerned were so bad that the leaders tried to calm internal discontent by provoking the U.S. into a mud-slinging contest, which would fill the front pages of the papers and would rally the people behind their government.

The utterances of a controlled press or controlled radio in an unfree nation always mean something; nothing is done spontaneously or privately for private enjoyment. Government control is directed at given purposes. Propanal can uncover most of those purposes.

¶47. PROPANAL AND MILITARY INFORMATION. Military information can be derived from the tone, timing, emphasis, and purpose of enemy broadcasts. The Germans predicted a new, secret weapon before they used the V-1; the German predictions dropped off when the launching ramps on the French coast were bombed; when the ramps were repaired, the predictions went up in number. This helped to confirm the supposition that the ramps had an organic connection with the secret weapon which Goebbels and Hitler had promised. General enemy intentions and commitments can be measured against propaganda; propanal becomes a useful auxiliary source when the propaganda habits of the source are well known.

V. Propaganda Intelligence

¶48. THE PECULIAR RESPONSIBILITY OF PROPAGANDA. Propaganda must compete with hostile or private news facilities, but (in the case of "white") must at the same time be issued on the responsibility of the government or army concerned. Propaganda must be checked not merely for its correctness as news, and its usefulness on the immediate propaganda schedule, but for its effect on the issuing government. Propaganda must not offend domestic persons, groups, interests, or minorities of any kind; propaganda must not offend one audience for the sake of winning a point with another; propaganda makes the issuing government accountable to world opinion. Therefore, propaganda cannot be operated the way that a newspaper is operated, or a radio news program; it must be checked for:

a. Factual correctness;
b. Propaganda effect on the occasion of use;
c. Propaganda effect to other audiences or groups not addressed;
d. Relation to the actual policy of the issuing government on the topic concerned;
e. Effect if used in hostile programs and quoted against its source;
f. Coordination with military security, where applicable;
g. Ownership of the material, if copyrighted or borrowed from a private source;
h. Relationship to future propaganda, political, or military plans.

Propaganda is therefore difficult to execute, when it is good. It is one of the most complicated of governmental processes. (The more private the propagandist is, the more satisfaction he can allow himself by being inventive, and the less he has to worry about clearances, authority, permission, and so on. That he is also less effective, goes without saying.)

¶49. THE RAW MATERIAL OF PROPAGANDA. Propaganda requires two kinds of material: news or background materials, out of which to build the propaganda; and guidances or plans, with which to steer it. Propaganda must reach an audience; to reach the audience it must interest them and hold their attention; to hold their attention, it must say something; to say something, it must have something to talk about. (This was not always understood in World War II, with the result that some propagandists broadcast longwinded, tedious political arguments while all over the world click, click, click, their listeners cut off the current.) Propaganda content must reach the audience, but in so doing it must not give away secrets, make fools of the propagandists, or involve the government in difficulty.

The controls must go along with the raw materials. The actual propaganda operator should be given the news as fast as possible; he should be given such background information as he may need to make his presentation sound; but he cannot be trusted, because of the strain of his job, which keeps him in touch with the enemy, with information of high security value. How to control the propagandist without spoiling him at his creative job--how to guide him without interfering unnecessarily in his work--how to watch him without slowing down the actual output--how to observe all controls and regulations while staying up-to-the-minute on schedule: such problems are not readily solved. Yet they must be solved, if the propaganda is to work. Without intelligence materials and guidances, propaganda becomes an expensive and ephemeral kind of literature, giving neither credit nor profit to its authors, and maintaining no particular advantage to the government which pays for it.

¶50. AUDIENCE INTELLIGENCE. Propaganda must be directed at specific goals. It must be conducted with reference to a known audience, taking the characteristics of the audience into account. It must meet the current opinion of the audience addressed. Therefore, all intelligence concerning audience opinions, reactions, fads, slang, rumors, new interests, etc., must be relayed to the propagandist if he is to do his job well. (The Japanese in World War II occasionally showed their lack of such intelligence materials by referring to things which were hopelessly out of date. More frequently they missed their cue by failing to understand actual conditions in wartime America. All they knew was pre-war America.)

¶51. OPINION ANALYSIS. The interrogation of prisoners and, under ideal conditions, the interrogation of enemy home opinion will give indications of enemy morale and of the fluctuations of opinion in the target country. Opinion can also be found negatively by watching the antagonistic propaganda and seeing what things it seeks to oppose or to correct; those very things can thereupon be reinforced by appropriate propaganda measures.

Illustration #3. Domestic Japanese wartime propaganda cartoon directed against Britain and the United States. Such material gave American leaflet-writers models for their leaflets prepared for Japanese audiences.

VI. Propaganda Technique

¶52. PROPAGANDA DISCIPLINE. Basic to all psychological warfare is the discipline of the operative. The participant, military or civilian, who says what he himself wants to say should obviously be thrown out of a propaganda outfit and transferred to some enterprise where he can talk to his heart's content. The whole purpose of propaganda rests upon saying things which the enemy wishes to hear but which, when heard, will damage the enemy war effort. This requires the propagandist to keep his own emotions and opinions under strict discipline. All the rest of his government or army can hate the enemy all they wish; wartime is the season for lawful hatred; there is no reason why they should not hate the enemy. The propagandist has the job of persuading the enemy not to fight. To do so, he must remain sympathetic to the enemy. Jeering, name-calling, reproaching, criticizing without purpose--these should never depend on what the propagandist thinks the enemy deserves to have said to him, but on what the propagandist thinks will affect the enemy's thinking, feeling, and action. The propagandist can denounce the enemy--when the propaganda plan calls for it. He can express his hatred and contempt--if hatred or contempt are on the schedule. Normally these are not. Most of the time, he must play the role of being the sympathetic enemy. Propaganda discipline (first of the individual over himself, then of the outfit over the individual, whether civilian or military) is the first pre-condition of successful psychological warfare. Violation of discipline produces dangerous adverse reactions.

¶53. SCIENTIFIC AIDS. Basic historical, economic, political, social, religious and other data concerning the audience should either be inside the propagandist's head, or else in convenient reference form. (Americans would not think much of enemies who addressed Louisiana troops with, "Hello, Yankee!" under the impression they conveyed a sense of cheerful friendliness, nor would they be impressed by a pamphlet which showed Mother polishing her son's shoes while he lolled in a porch swing, saying, "Gee whiz, I'm glad to be home, mama!" Bad propaganda is worse than no propaganda; good propaganda requires correct background.) Knowing the language does not of itself indicate that the propagandist is ready to start; even being a native or ex-citizen of the country concerned is not a guarantee that the person is qualified. Most Americans speak good American English; most of them know a lot about America; not many of them are capable of becoming first-class radio commentators or great authors. Sound psychological warfare operations depend not only on good language facilities, and on the possession of cadres of personnel with a first-hand

intimate knowledge of the audience, but on scientific aids as well. The research of anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists and historians provides a body of material on almost every group in the human race. Properly used, these scientific aids will bring to light enemy weaknesses and traits which even the most acute untrained observation would not reveal.

¶54. THE LISTENER. It is sound propaganda, in most cases, to presume a single listener or reader as target. Propaganda should be personal, emphatic, direct, simple, reiterative. Few radio programs or leaflet series can count on hitting the same man regularly enough to build up grandiose cumulative effects. The more concretely the one-man audience at the other end is visualized, the better his worries and hopes are understood, the more that he feels the propagandist "talks his language" with more than words, the more successful the operation will be. Propaganda has little room for the general, the abstract, the formal, or the large-audience appeal. It must get inside somebody's skin; to do so, it must keep the target individual in mind. The only time for formality is the occasion when the listener, by his own customs, expects it. (Note the correct Japanese reaction when President Roosevelt died. The Germans, gibbering with hate, called him nasty names and offended Americans. The Japanese, in a formal, silly, naive but appealing way, extended their condolences to the American people. American public opinion mocked them for doing it, but their action on that occasion helped build up a picture--later to become useful to them--of the Japanese as incomprehensible, gauche, but with all their faults a very courteous people. The Japanese considered their American listener; the Germans forgot and amused themselves, attaining no real advantage.)

¶55. SPECIFIC TECHNIQUES. Specific techniques are among the trade secrets of every major propaganda organization. Some of them are found in the academic literature on propaganda (see Chapter IX). Most of them are evident to common sense. The goals dictate the technique to be used in each concrete situation; some of the permanent goals are to prepare the enemy for defeat in war, to disunite enemy opposition, to promote belief in the utterance of the propagandist, to discredit enemy news sources, to make the individual enemy feel he has friends on this side.

VII. Wartime Propaganda Administration

¶56. WARTIME CIVILIAN AGENCIES. In the United States government, war propaganda has traditionally been a function of the executive branch of the government. Though a responsibility and power of the President, it has not been conducted by President Wilson or President Roosevelt in their respective capacities of commander-in-chief of the armed forces, but has been operated as a special, emergency, civilian enterprise in each war. In World War I, there was established the Creel Committee. In World War II, psychological warfare was at first a responsibility of seven or eight agencies, the most active being the Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI) and the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF). In the summer of 1942, the OWI was established and took over most psychological warfare functions, particularly all those involving official use of the name of the government; other agencies, such as the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and the established departments, maintained an interest in the subject. Coordination was effected by a system of consultation and liaison, as shown in the chart on page 29. At the termination of hostilities, both OWI and OSS were dissolved. Some of their informational and research functions have been assigned to the State and War Departments.

¶57. FUTURE PROPAGANDA ADMINISTRATION. Psychological warfare cannot be studied on the assumption that appropriate staff procedures will involve civilian agencies. Since the national agency for propaganda has been improvised for each war, with very little carry-over of doctrine, skill or personnel from one war to the other, it must be considered that another war, should one occur, would require new organization. This might or might not be military. Experience in World War II showed excellent results in the use of large civilian staffs under military command.

¶58. MILITARY FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL PROPAGANDA AGENCY. A national propaganda agency has as its primary job the securing of the home front by sound, effective, honest domestic propaganda which will maintain national morale, support production and keep the national base of the military effort in good condition--so far as this can be done through affecting opinion. The national agency must necessarily serve as the gather and supply point for special news, features, guidances, background studies and so on which are needed by military propaganda facilities overseas. It also has the exceedingly important function of supplying presses, special radio equipment, inks, basic propaganda materials and other supplies which cannot be drawn through ordinary army channels. The OWI in World War II--and the Creel Committee to a lesser extent the time before--per-

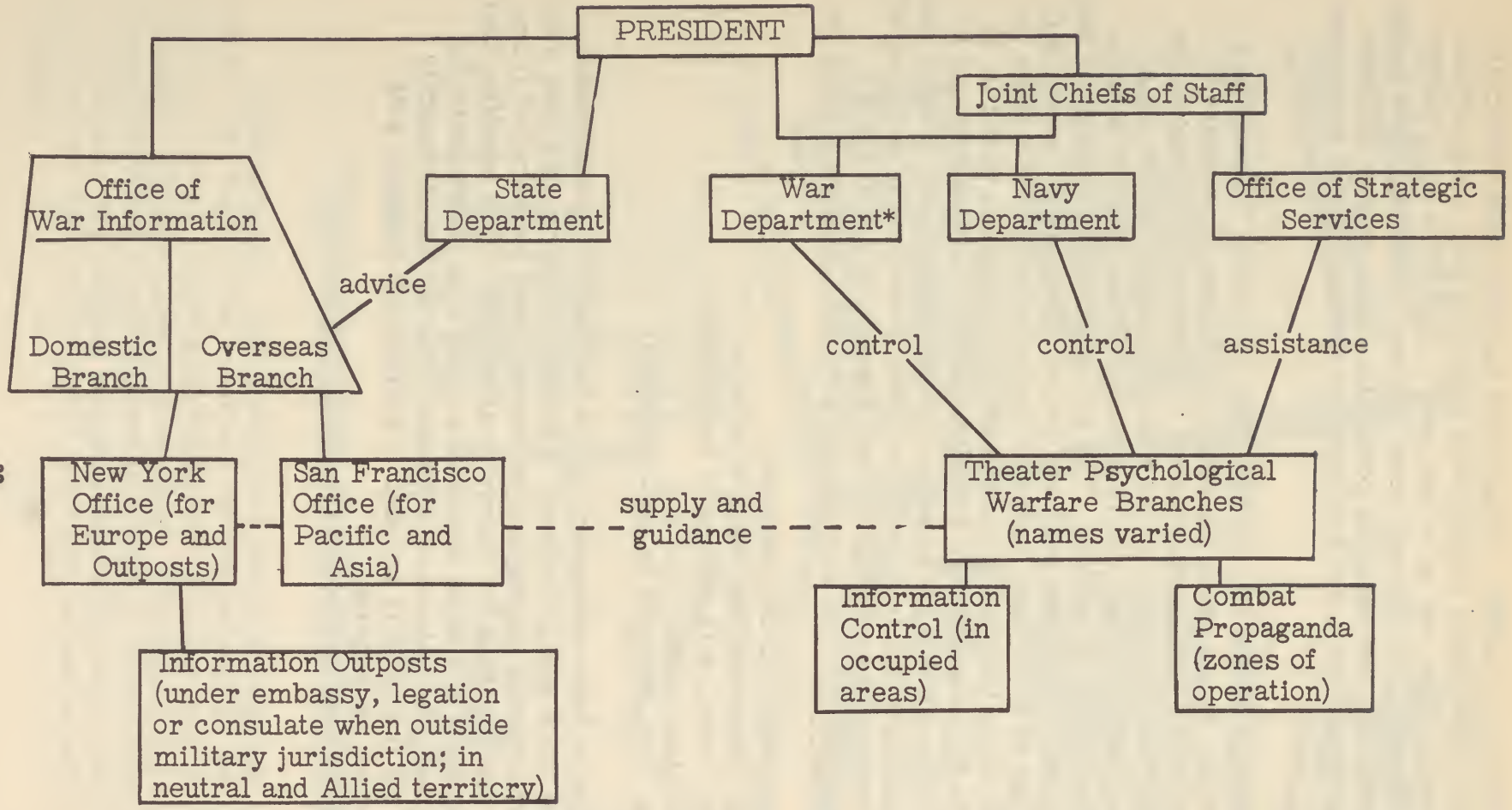
formed the indispensible function of finding personnel with the unusual qualifications required for psychological warfare, re-training them, and putting them on either its own or the Army payroll. (Finding an eloquent Pushtu-speaking person in a hurry is no easy task!) Finally, the national agency did a great deal of the onerous fiscal and bookkeeping work, and carried much of the budget load for psychological warfare.

¶59. MILITARY-CIVILIAN COORDINATION. Some of the worst possible blunders of psychological warfare are those which can be committed when there is poor civilian-military coordination. During World War I, the Kaiser's government never succeeded in setting up effective coordination between the military and political agencies of government for propaganda purposes; the British had great difficulty before they worked out a smooth administrative and consultative machinery for the purpose. In between wars, the Japanese lost a great deal of ground because of a lack of such coordination; the government spokesmen promised that troop action in the "China Incident" would halt; the next day the Army would move forward, and Japan got a reputation for calculated trickery only half of which was deserved. Part of their effects were the result of guile and wile; part were the consequence of administrative confusion and independence of the armed services. Hitler, in contrast, achieved in his psychological warfare the smoothest military-political coordination which has yet operated on a grand scale; he had total control of the government and people to start with. In the United States, such coordination was achieved to a much less extent than in Germany.

¶60. GENERAL PLANS. Proper coordination of psychological warfare facilities permits the setting up of general plans which are coordinated with both strategy and national policy. Hitler's propaganda worked in intimate liaison with his military and air headquarters; when an operation such as the conquest of Poland was undertaken, the propagandists were able to time their operations so as to be most useful to the combat elements. Long-range purposes could be sought by clandestine operations and "white" operations supplementing one another. Quislings, for example, could be recruited by the Germans at any one time, but they would not keep over a long period of peace without undergoing changes of heart, twinges of loyalty, some desertions with attendant breach of security, and other deterioration. Coordination of all facilities gave the maximum result.

¶61. CONTINGENCY PLANS. Foreseen contingencies are planned in propaganda. An invasion, a landing, the surrender of an opponent, the fall of a city--such news occasions call for special radio and leaflet operations. These too require coordination between various national-level or general staff agencies, whatever the particular propaganda structure of a country may be. In totalitarian countries, the single party must be included so as to provide for appropriate "spontaneous joy," "mass demonstrations," and so forth.

CHART OF PROPAGANDA ADMINISTRATION IN WORLD WAR II (1942-1945)



* The War Department agency was the Psychological Warfare Branch, 1941-42; liaison officers, 1943; Propaganda Branch, G-2, 1943-45.

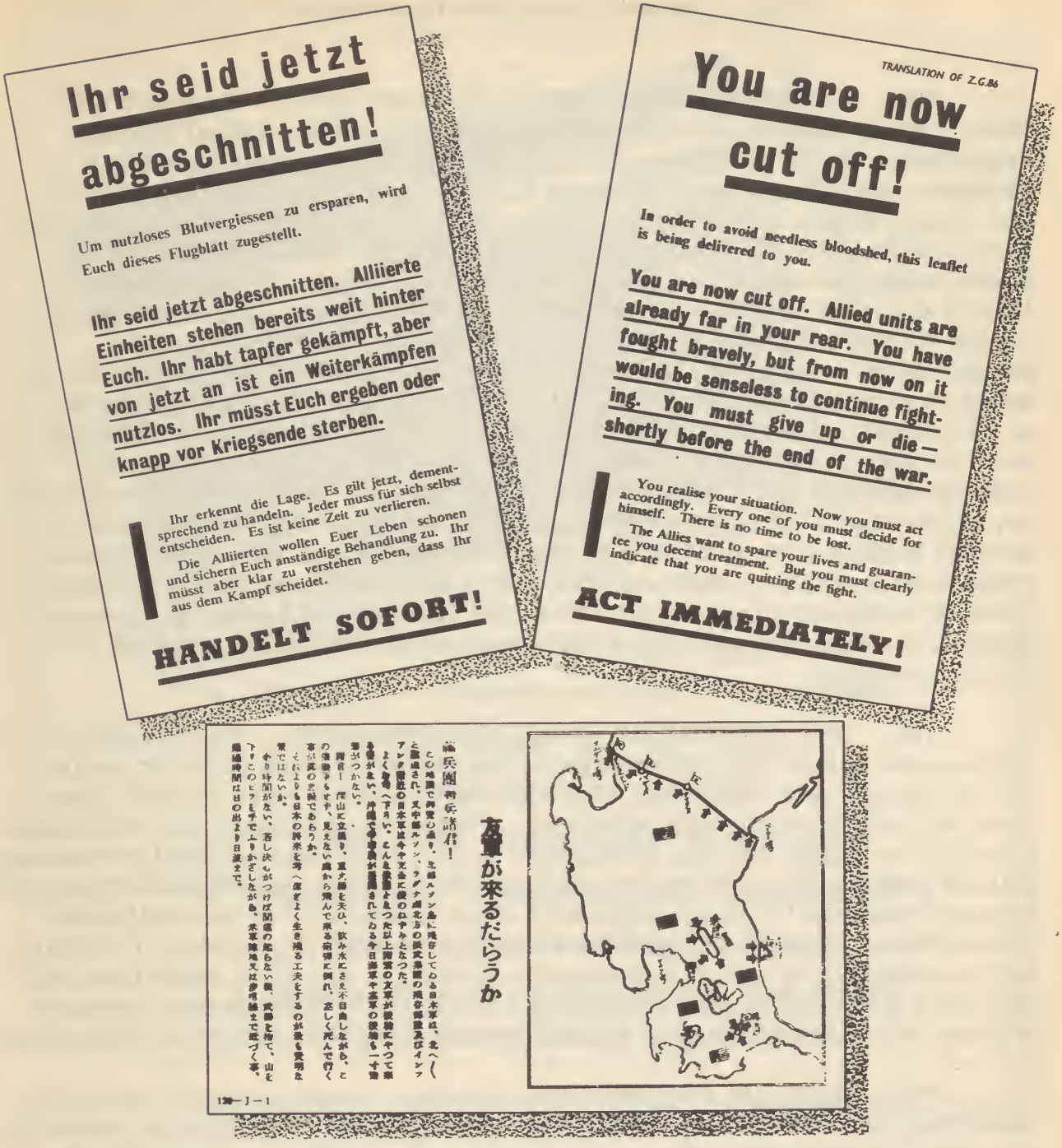
Not shown on the chart are the consultative relationships established between OWI headquarters, Washington, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, whereby liaison officers from the War and Navy Departments kept in appropriate relationship to OWI in preparing psychological warfare plans and guidances.

¶62. SPECIAL PLANS. Unforeseen contingencies often call for special plans. Emergency consultation facilities must be provided, whereby the propagandists can be called upon to exploit an opportunity before the time passes. To this end, most nations in wartime have propaganda duty officers who are available around the clock; where military and civilian instrumentalities are both employed, duty officers are needed in each.

¶63. APPLICATION OF PLANS AND ORDERS. If plans are highly classified and do not reach the actual producers of propaganda, they are of little value. Propaganda output is measured in terms of the actual newscasts, features, radio scripts of other kinds, leaflet texts, poster appeals and other definite writing tasks. These must be written, translated, and broadcast or printed. The net output of propaganda is made up of the work of the people who perform the practical tasks. In ordinary combat operations, it is perhaps desirable for an infantryman to know as much as feasible about the strategic and tactical mission on which he is engaged, but it is not a condition of his effectiveness. Commands can be filtered down to him, without the reasons accompanying them. Direct command does not usually apply in artistic or literary work such as propaganda. Plans must accordingly be translatable into specific do's and don't's (usually called guidances). To be genuinely practical, guidances must be:

a. Plain and unambiguous.
b. Organized for ready reference.
c. Dated, with automatic expiration.
d. Mandatory.
e. Non-security or low-classified.

The last provision is made necessary by the fact that the propagandist, being in constant touch with the enemy, is always in danger of giving away his purpose; furthermore, propaganda personnel must be recruited from among persons familiar with the enemy or antagonist. This signifies that the best propagandists are those who have a great deal of sympathy for enemy customs, thought-patterns, and ideals. They do not necessarily prove disloyal, but it is plainly unsound to burden such persons with important or secret information.



Ihr seid jetzt abgeschnitten!

Um nutzloses Blutvergiessen zu ersparen, wird Euch dieses Flugblatt zugestellt.

Ihr seid jetzt abgeschnitten. Alliierte Einheiten stehen bereits weit hinter Euch. Ihr habt tapfer gekämpft, aber von jetzt an ist ein Weiterkämpfen nutzlos. Ihr müsst Euch ergeben oder knapp vor Kriegsende sterben.

Ihr erkennt die Lage. Es gilt jetzt, dementsprechend zu handeln. Jeder muss für sich selbst entscheiden. Es ist keine Zeit zu verlieren.

Die Alliierten wollen Euer Leben schonen und sichern Euch anständige Behandlung zu. Ihr müsst aber klar zu verstehen geben, dass Ihr aus dem Kampf scheidet.

HANDELT SOFORT!

TRANSLATION OF Z.G.86

You are now cut off!

In order to avoid needless bloodshed, this leaflet is being delivered to you.

You are now cut off. Allied units are already far in your rear. You have fought bravely, but from now on it would be senseless to continue fighting. You must give up or die — shortly before the end of the war.

You realise your situation. Now you must act accordingly. Every one of you must decide for himself. There is no time to be lost.

The Allies want to spare your lives and guarantee you decent treatment. But you must clearly indicate that you are quitting the fight.

ACT IMMEDIATELY!

友軍が来るだらうか

比島派遣軍兵隊諸君！

この地圖で御覽の通り、北部ルソン島に殘留してゐる日本軍は、北へ北へと壓迫され、又中部ルソン、ラグナ湖北方の兵力集團の殘存部隊及びインファンタ附近の日本軍は今や完全に我の包圍下に入つた。

よく考へて下さい。こんな情勢よりも以上續けるのは全くの犬死です。

今日迄日本軍や友軍の爲に盡して來た事がつかない。

諸君！深山に立籠り、草木を喰ひ、飲み水にさへ不自由しながら、友の援助もなく、見えない處から飛んで來る砲彈に倒れ、空しく死んで行く事が眞の武士道であらうか。

それよりも日本の將來を考へ、一日も早く生を殘す工夫をするのが最も賢明な策ではないか。

殘り時間がない。苦し決心がつけば問題の起らない處、武器を捨て、山を下りこのビラを持つて投降せよ。

投降地點又は手續等は裏面をご覽下さい。

1200—J—1

Illustration #4. Two American combat propaganda contingency leaflets. The map leaflet is addressed to Japanese troops of the Shimbun Shudan on Luzon. It shows their hopeless situation and tells them how to surrender. This was prepared to order. The text leaflet is an English language facsimile of one dropped (in German) on any German unit found to be isolated. The English language facsimiles were used in explaining leaflets to our own soldiers; they helped make psychological warfare intelligible.

VIII. Combat Propaganda Operations

¶64. COMBAT PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION. During World War II, some theaters never extended systematic psychological warfare organization below the theater headquarters level. Others established elaborate operational units, of which the most ambitious were the First and Second Mobile Broadcasting Companies. These worked in North Africa, Italy, and France. It was found that they functioned best when their component elements were broken down into smaller teams. The ultimate pattern in almost all instances consisted of the creation of a small producing center (in SHAEF, PWD ran into the hundreds; in China, the staff for psychological warfare was not over a dozen men till the last months of war) which was capable of composing and printing leaflets. Leaflets produced in the United States, with the actual printing matrices sent to the theaters, were not successful; they were too remote from theater problems; the consequence was that leaflet production became the backbone of each theater or, in the case of Europe, Army propaganda headquarters. Occasional tactical leaflets were produced by smaller units, sometimes being mimeographed by an officer single-handed, but in most cases the leaflet-printing function remained a major task. The Davidson and Webbenderfer presses, which were used, are not very mobile, and paper supply is a constant logistic problem.

¶65. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE COMMAND. Each theater commander was in complete charge of psychological warfare so far as its use or non-use was concerned. He also controlled the entry into his command of civilian propaganda personnel. Theater commanders did not possess authority to change national propaganda policy, to initiate political propaganda without coordinating with the Department of State, or to improvise propaganda without reference to the propaganda of other theaters or of the continental United States. Theater commanders sometimes used Psychological Warfare as the equivalent of a G-6, sometimes combined it with G-5, sometimes subordinated it to G-3, usually attached it to G-2, and in one instance operated it under the direct scrutiny of a Military Secretary to the Supreme Commander.

¶66. COMBAT PROPAGANDA RADIO. Radio broadcast facilities were found to be extremely valuable for strategic and consolidation propaganda. The relative immobility of even the mobile radio stations precluded their rapid shift in the course of tactical changes, and the radio broadcast facilities as such had little opportunity to reach enemy troops.

¶67. COMBAT PROPAGANDA MONITORING. Monitoring by combat propaganda units was found to provide invaluable materials for loud-

AT FIRST IN THE WEST:

Rundstedt's offensive of desperation smashed!

AND NOW IN THE EAST:

East Prussia cut off!

The Red Army deep in Silesia!

Germany's "Eastern Ruhr" paralysed!

Zukov's Armies West of Posen

Evacuation of Government and Party Offices from Berlin has started!

Illustration #5. Two types of news leaflet. The illustration announced V-E Day to the Japanese, and was prepared in advance; text is on the back (not shown). The printed leaflet is an English facsimile translation of one dropped on the Germans; on the back there were statements from Churchill and Roosevelt.

THE HOME TELEGRAM

A Weekly for American Soldiers

N. 7

Congratulations Boys! of the 88th I. D.!

60 truckloads of chocolate-colored boys from North-Africa, yes, real natives from the dark continent, arrived the other day as your neighbors to the east of you. They are going to help you as «liberators» to bring the culture of darkest Africa to those Godforsaken Germans who know nothing about it. Congratulations, they are your friends and allies even if they cannot read or write or eat with knife and fork.

Soviet "Pike" tanks

in Lower Lausitz

In the Lausitz, among the burning and glowing Soviet tanks whose number is ever on the increase, there are also to be found some of the new «Pike» type which the Soviets have introduced during the fighting in Lower Silesia. The Soviets have chosen this name because the new tank, with its low turret, resembles the head of a fish of prey. The «Pike» tank is an improved T34 with stronger armor and a long barreled 120 mm gun. The «Pike» is supposed to be the best tank of the Red Army and to surpass the Joseph Stalin type. The heavy losses in the Silesian fighting prove, however, that even this improved T34 cannot stand up to the German «Panzer Fist». Soviet tank officers taken prisoner in the Lower Lausitz district speaking of the «Panzer Fist» said «It is an appalling weapon. The tank is nearly always completely destroyed and the crew burnt in the wreckage»

"Red Czar" vs. "World President"

Sidelights on the Crimea Conference

The drama of Yalta has come to an end. The two representatives of western capitalism, Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt, have left the Red Empire again, the land of Bolshevism which they undoubtedly entered with a considerable degree of dislike. They have returned and the press of their countries has begun to analyze the results of the Conference. The American press has made it understood, as is already known throughout Europe, that Stalin emerged from the momentous Conference as the true victor. The press at the same time, however, states that everything must be done to blot out that impression. Only «New York World Telegram» minces no words by saying quite openly, «that Roosevelt is returning with empty hands». In England the «Daily Express» likewise stated that none of the vital problems had been solved in the Crimea Conference and it was plain that Churchill as well as Roosevelt had been defeated there. Also the US Senator Bearns was pessimistic in connection with the Conference although he couched his words in more diplomatic language when he said that the Crimea Conference had given no clue whatever to an early end of the war. Only the semi-official Moscow paper «Pravda» expressed its complete satisfaction with the Conference.

In the United States the public seems to be particularly disillusioned, according to press and radio reports, that the Conference did not reach any agreement about the question of the Pacific War. Stalin has taken pains to avoid any friction with Japan and there can be no question of an eventual participation of Russia in the war in the Pacific. Mr. Roosevelt would have liked it immensely if he had been able to bring home a Soviet declaration of war against Japan or at least the Soviet assurance that the Russo-Japanese Non-Agression Pact, which expires this spring, is not going to be renewed. But he could not even get that

Polish Army Corps withdrawn

Crimea decision causes unrest

General Anders, the C.O. of the Polish troops fighting in Italy under Allied supreme command declared in an order of the day: «We shall never recognize the unilateral decision which leaves our country at the mercy of Bolshevism. Nothing can stop Polish soldiers from fighting for liberty and genuine independence». According to reports made by prisoners, unrest among the troops of the Polish Army Corps has increased to such an extent that they had to be withdrawn from the fighting lines.

"Red Czar" vs. "World President"

(Continued from page 2)

A skilfully directed press campaign in the USA has successfully undertaken to make believe that the Russian wolf has turned into a lamb and that the «RED Czar» is nothing but «good old Joe». But Stalin has, in the meantime, overrun and bolshevised ten European countries, has carried off to Siberia thousands of Roumanians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, and Bulgarians, announcing cynically that this is only the beginning. One wonders what the American relatives of these unfortunate slaves are saying, whether they will not consider the victims as lost and dead.

American boys, however must continue to die as «Stalin's Legionaries» because some of your Jewish or Jew-controlled politicians working in unison with the Moscow Jews, want it that way. What has become of the once famous American common sense?

Soldiers' Wives at Home

The Divorce Question

The London «Daily Mail» of January 9th reports from New York that the morale of American soldiers at the front is too often seriously affected by their wives requesting a divorce by letter or by neighbours who write to them reporting unfavourably on the conduct of their wives. In the 7th Army every day five soldiers on an average receive letters from their wives proposing divorce. Not only is the soldier directly concerned upset by this but the effect is noticeable on whole groups of married men who begin to feel anxious about their own wives. Soldiers of the 1st Armored Division whose wives have left them in the lurch, have founded a «Broken Hearts Club»!

The American Red Cross has appealed to all soldiers' wives who desire a divorce to await the return of their husbands from the front.

«American Magazine», in the course of an article on marriage and divorce, states that in 1940 the proportion of divorces was one to every five or six marriages. In 1944 the proportion had risen to one divorce to every four marriages: The percentage is ever on the increase but will reach its peak point when Johnny comes home and finds the girl of his dreams doesn't come up to his idealistic expectations and Mary perceives that Johnny isn't quite such a hero in civilian clothes as he looked in uniform. Millions of broken hearts will ensue

In some towns the figures for divorce are almost incredible. In Los Angeles for example, last year 33000 marriages and 24,000 divorces took place. This year so many applications for divorces have already been filed that a Law Court official has declared that 1945 will see more divorces than marriages.

Book of Manners for Soviet Officers

In Lower Silesia the Germans have captured a pamphlet published in Leningrad which could well be called a «Book of Manners for Soviet Officers». It contains official and unofficial advice for the behaviour of all Soviet officers. About what primitive trifles of civilisation the Soviet officers require to be enlightened the following sample gives a good idea: «At table behave with a dignified modesty. Refrain from greediness and chew your food with your mouth closed. Smacking the lips and noisy belching are unbecoming. The spoon, the fork and the knife must be properly used and held. Take note, bread must be eaten with a fork, salt must be taken with a knife. Fish and beefsteak are eaten with a fork without using the knife. The fork is held in the left hand the knife in the right.»

The pamphlet says that discipline, military deportment and external formalities should on no account be looked upon as humiliating or useless.

271,7 m

New medium wave for «Jerry's Front»

Short wave 47.6 meters (6300 kc) daily at: 6.30 a.m., 7.40 a.m., 2.00 p.m., 5.00 p.m., 6.30 p.m., 10.00 p.m., and midnight.

Medium wave 271.7 meters (1100 kc) daily at: 6.30 a.m., 6.30 p.m. and midnight-programme

Wendell Wilkie foresaw another world war

On the subject of the foreign political development Wendell Wilkie had curtly remarked «They are preparing the soil for a third world war.»

After having made this and other frank statements, Wilkie «died» suddenly

Have You heard this one?

C.O.: «Why aren't you working?»

Pte: «I didn't see you coming Sir.»

423/3/45

緊要新聞

第二十二號

一九四五年九月一日

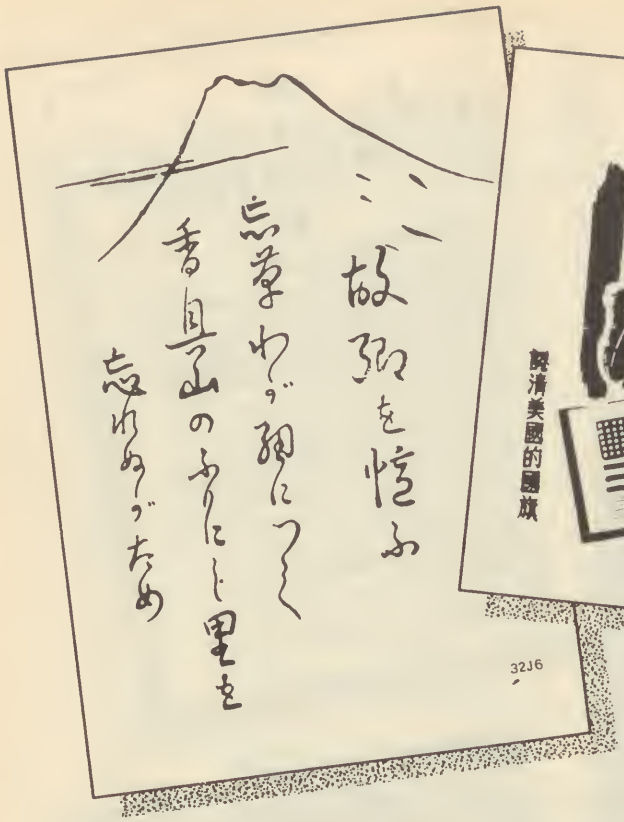
日本簽訂降書

遠東和平的基石

中蘇盟約公佈

Illustration #6. Two types of leaflet newspaper. The German paper, in English, is addressed to American troops and ties in with combat propaganda. The American paper, in Chinese, is addressed to Occupied China; it is dated 1 September 1945.

Illustration #7. Morale leaflets, white and black. The white leaflet shows the Japanese propagandist ridiculing the U.S. air force to the Chinese while American planes are overhead. The black is a German item addressed to American troops (both obverse and reverse are shown).



ATTENTION
ALLIED PRISONERS

Allied Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees, these are your orders and/or instructions in case there is a capitulation of the Japanese forces:

1. You are to remain in your camp area until you receive further instructions from this headquarters.

2. Law and order will be maintained in the camp area.

3. In case of a Japanese surrender there will be allied occupational forces sent into your camp to care for your needs and eventual evacuation to your homes. You must help by remaining in the area in which we now know you are located.

4. Camp leaders are charged with these responsibilities.

5. The end is near. Do not be disheartened. We are thinking of you. Plans are under way to assist you at the earliest possible moment.

(Signed) A. C. WEDEMEYER
Lieutenant General, U. S. A.
Commanding

Illustration #8. Two action leaflets and one morale leaflet. The Japanese leaflet reads, "Yearning for the native land, Forget-me-not stuck on my sleeve, Reminding me not to forget my dear old Homeland near the Kagu mountain." This type of poem is characteristically Japanese. The two action leaflets are self-explanatory; the one in Chinese is part of the same series as the one shown on the cover of this syllabus.

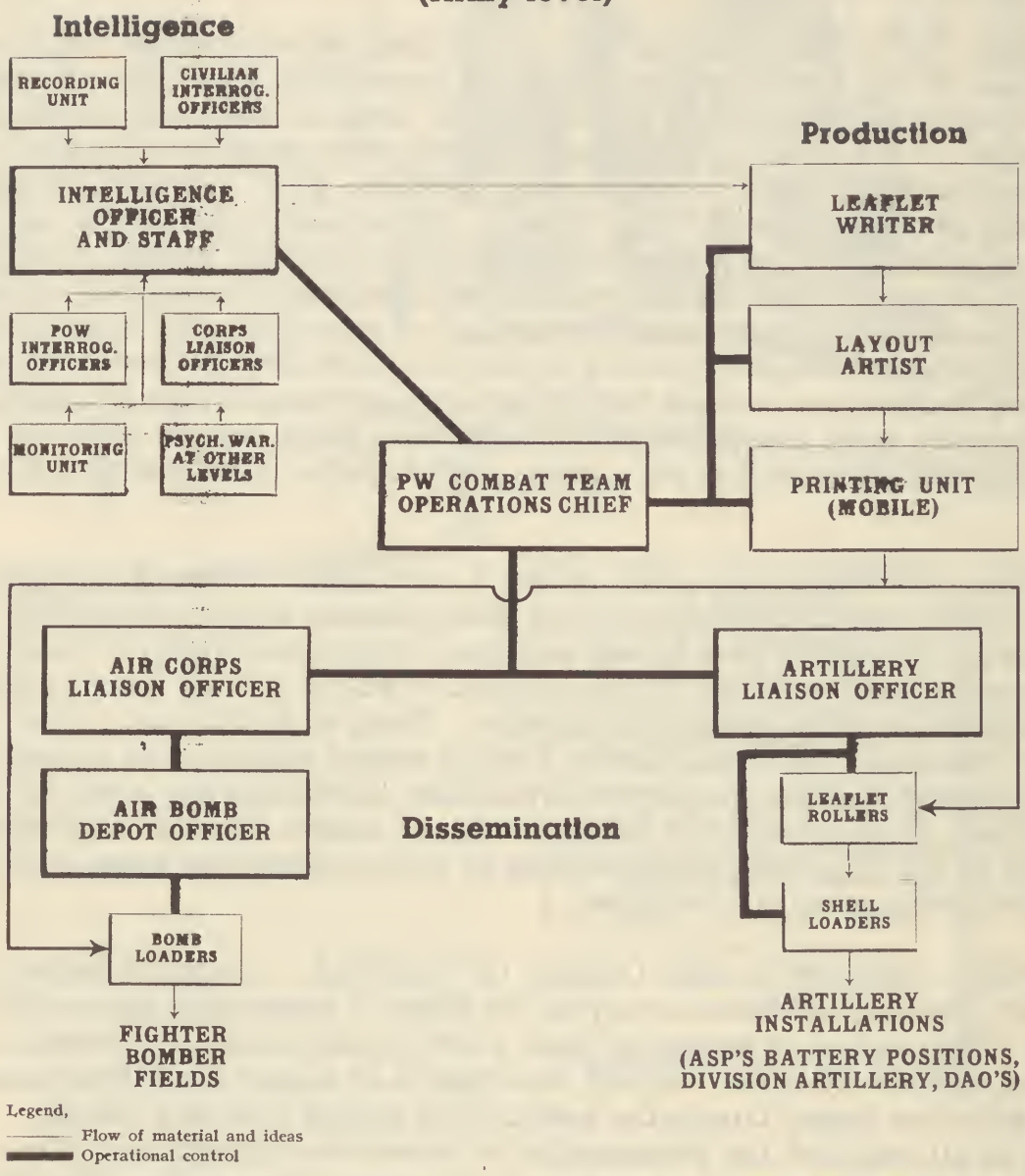
speaker and leaflet operations. (In Burma, American psychological warfare got news to the Japanese troops from Radio Tokyo--after editing it in passage--more rapidly than did the Japanese morale officers; Japanese music was recorded off the air in an area where no Japanese phonograph record had ever been played before.)

¶68. MORALE LEAFLETS. All leaflets were processed in a manner similar to that shown on page 38. When the tactical situation was static, morale leaflets (Illustrations #7 and #9) were used; in situations tactically unfavorable for the enemy, contingency leaflets were made up (Illustration #4) and surrender passes were distributed (Illustration #11). Morale leaflets were found to be the most difficult to write. They had to achieve the most definite effect with the least specific appeal; they involved no call to action. The effect of morale leaflets has never been calculated. Surrender and news leaflets can be tested by checking the number of prisoners who come in with surrender passes, and then quizzing them on news to find out how much came from news leaflets; but morale leaflets are not in a comparable situation, and most prisoners were found inclined to make snap judgments on how they should have felt when getting the morale leaflet, rather than how they did feel.

¶69. NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS LEAFLETS. News of common interest--progress of the war, political developments closely connected with the war, the appearance of new weapons, home news from the reader's country--provided a medium of communication which carried more propaganda than did all other means put together. News materials were used continuously, whenever the disseminator and his enemy stayed close enough or stably enough together to permit circulation. Instances are given in the Illustrations. It was found that the repetition of simple themes and slogans was basic to the effective propagandizing of the news and that news, correctly handled, never wore out its appeal.

¶70. LEAFLETS AND ORDER OF BATTLE. Order of battle information contributed tremendously to the effect of some very successful leaflets. The mention of troops by their correct unit names, reference to unpopular officers by name, correct description of enemy conditions--such devices gave the enemy troops the bewildering feeling that they had no security at all, and that the propagandist's forces were omnipotent. (Information of this kind came in great part, of course, from prisoners.) However, the mistaken or incorrect use of names, or even the delivery of the wrong leaflets to a given unit can undo much of the special effect obtained through battle order information and through the revelation of correct front-line intelligence. A simple leaflet which is sure of committing no blunder is commonly more effective than a complicated or tricky leaflet which may have unfavorable repercussions.

Production
of a
Tactical Leaflet
(Army level)



(Taken from **History of the Second Mobile Broadcasting Company,** no publisher given, issued within the unit, 1945.)

¶71. TACTICAL COORDINATION. The use of psychological warfare devices is ineffectual if the results desired are not rendered practical. For example, pursuit planes should not ask for the surrender of individual prisoners without explaining--in the leaflet--just how, where, and to whom the prisoners should surrender. Invitations to surrender must always be accompanied by control of the troops on the inviting side; if one prisoner starts across and is picked off by an over-enthusiastic sniper, other surrenders are not likely to follow: positive harm will have been done. Coordination between artillery or tactical rockets and leaflet shelling is important; the effect of leaflets can be stepped up measurably if heavy shelling is announced, delivered, lifted for the purpose of accepting surrenders, resumed, lifted again. This type of coordination requires the presence of a psychological warfare liaison officer at the regimental level or below, whether such an officer be one of the normal component trained in psychological warfare techniques or an outsider detailed for the purpose.

¶72. ATROCITY PROPAGANDA. Atrocity propaganda created a revulsion against war generally when it was employed in World War I. The audience reacted against the enemy, but the reaction consisted of nausea and nervous upset to such an extent that it is not now considered desirable to use atrocity propaganda. It may lift morale momentarily, but its long-range effect is not favorable to morale. It will be found in almost every case that rumors--resembling propaganda, except that they are not systematized to achieve a known end--will circulate in the course of operations among the troops themselves, alleging fearsome enemy atrocities. Inevitably, some of these rumors have their foundation in fact. They should not be encouraged and should be made the subject of propaganda campaigns only when the necessity therefor is compelling. It has been found that atrocity propaganda begets atrocities. An audience subjected to atrocity propaganda will react in the normal human way and will effect reprisals in kind if the opportunity offers, so that the outcome is an auction of cruelty, each side seeking to excel the other in wantonness without achieving any respectable military goal. Such propaganda makes combat operations more unpleasant without increasing their effectiveness, and it interferes with national policy in the post-war period, by leaving residual hatreds which are difficult to overcome for normal international relationships. When an enemy has in fact committed atrocities, news thereof is good propaganda only when it is desired to punish the enemy, when punishment can in fact be applied without reprisal in kind, or when publicity may have the effect of forestalling further atrocities of the same kind. (This signifies, usually, that atrocities committed against civilians or prisoners far behind the line of operations are often the appropriate subject of publicity, but that atrocities committed in the course of operations are not sound propaganda material unless compelling national policy requires their use.)

Illustration #9. German black morale leaflet (small photo) and instruction sheet telling German combat units to take along a package of leaflets when proceeding to the front lines, saying "Comrade! take me along and pass me forward. I've got to get to the Tommy and the Yankee to make them soft. I help save your blood!"

¶73. FURTHER COMBAT PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES. Loudspeakers were proved effective, especially after the Brittany operations in Europe and in the last phases of the island operations in the Pacific. Where fighting occurs along beaches, loudspeakers may be mounted on boats and run along the shore. Tank-mounted loudspeakers can sometimes be employed with results which are sensationally effective. When propaganda personnel cannot be taken in the boat or tank, it is possible to arrange a radio-telephone relay. The commander of the boat or tank describes the situation in English to the propaganda broadcaster back at the command post; when the propaganda man has the essential facts, the commander connects the radio-telephone directly into the loudspeaker circuit, and the tanks or boats begin speaking colloquial Japanese, German, Czech, Polish, or whatever language may be required. Loudspeakers are useful in mopping up; they avoid some of the waste effort and possible loss of life involved in using infantry against an enemy whose position is already hopeless, and they are more flexible than leaflets. Their range at the end of the second World War was two miles.

Loudspeakers may, in the interests of humaneness, be made available to enemy prisoners for the purpose of reassuring other enemy soldiers or fragmented units that further resistance involves loss of their lives. At Saipan and Guam, brave Japanese individuals volunteered to help save Japanese and American lives in this fashion. They spoke directly into the loudspeaker with a language officer standing by to make sure that no treachery was achieved. They were able to testify to good treatment. On occasion, the prisoners were so effective that they were given leave to return to the enemy lines, or to look for enemy units, for the purpose of bringing back others. (The Chinese forces in the guerrilla areas used this technique with audacity and astounding success. Lacking loudspeakers, they cut in on field telephones, talked propaganda at the operators, left presents at isolated sentry posts, invited exchanges of letters on the cause of the "imperialist" war, and shouted with megaphones.)

¶74. CONSOLIDATION. Leaflets, loudspeakers, posters, newspapers and local broadcasting are effective in consolidating occupied territories. Decisive action immediately upon occupation, coupled with genuinely effective supply and relief measures, will often prevent the appearance of irregular resistance measures which would involve the local populace and the occupying force in bitter antagonisms. The Germans promoted their own defeat by the arrogant, haughty, and arbitrary way in which they addressed conquered populations; a more genuine attempt to understand local populations would have involved the German army in fewer difficulties, and might have avoided such measures as outright terror; but if the Germans had been capable of such action, they would not have been Nazis and would not have conquered the territories in the first place

(一) No. 2519 マリヤナ時報 昭和二十年七月六日

マリヤナ時報

日本軍潰亂
濠軍、迅速進撃し バリクパパンへ迫る

ボルネオ戰況

（マニラ七月三日發）濠洲軍第七師團の精鋭は一日、米濠空軍ならびに米濠蘭海軍の砲爆撃後ボルネオ島バリクパパンの海岸に上陸敢行、引續き前進中と傳へられる、右につきマクアーサー元帥も二日「濠洲軍地上部隊はボルネオに第三次上陸を敢行、東海岸の大精油中心地バリクパパンに堅固な海濱據點を確保した」と發表、さらにメルボルン放送は「濠洲軍第七師團はセピンガン、マンガール兩飛行場の占領をめざして進出、バリクパパン海岸より東北十二キロに進出した」と報じてゐる

バリクパパンは世界で最も豐富な石油原産地の一つで年産一千五百萬樽に達してゐる、昭和十七年初め同島が日本軍に占領されて以來バリクパパンは日本の燃料油、航空用ガソリンの主源泉となつてゐた

前線報道によれば濠洲軍はバリクパパン東方に陸續上陸したのち急速に奥地へ進撃、これに對する日本軍の抵抗は最初輕微であつたが深く進撃するにつれ漸次頑強となつてゐる、また濠洲軍偵察部隊はバリクパパン郊外一哩に近接したが、炎上した貯油タンクから湧出する「火焰の石油」の流れにより前進を阻止された、一方バリクパパン市に向け進撃する濠洲軍部隊は市の周邊全地域を殲滅し得る一丘陵を奪取すべく日本軍と肉薄戰を演じたが、日本軍は遂に丘陵を放棄したので濠洲軍はその丘陵を降り更に增援を得て今一つの峯を占領した、しかしバリクパパン郊外までにはなほ一つの峰と峽谷があり、右偵察隊が前進を阻止されたのもこの峽谷が「火焰の石油」の流れと化してゐたためであつた、なほ濠洲軍部隊はバリクパパン東北十九キロのマンガール飛行場並びに東方七キロのセピンガン飛行場に向け急進を續けてゐる

（第二面へ續）

バリクパパン中央部を占領

（マニラ七月五日發）マクアーサー元帥司令部本夜の發表によれば、バリクパパンの市内中央部は濠洲軍の手中にあり、第七師團は同市北部精油工場を逐次包圍中である

平和憲章上院上程
平和への唯一の道

【ワシントン七月三日發】本三日ウルマン大統領は去る二十六日閉會の桑港會議で起草された聯合國世界保障憲章を上院に提出すると共に簡潔に憲章を説明し速かに批准するやう要請した

尚上院は七月九日に審議を始めることになつてゐるが憲章の短期批准に完全な一致をみることはまづ間違ひなく、審議は比較的短期間に終了するものと思はれる

大統領の説明の如し――本憲章は恒久平和への唯一の道を示すものに他ならぬ上院の選擇すべきものは今や明かである、即ちこの憲章と他のものとの何れかを選擇するのではなくしてこの憲章が唯一のものなのである

憲章の目的は將來の戰爭を防止せんとするにある平和手段により且つ正義の原則に基いて國際紛糾を解決し全世界の進歩とより高い生活水準を促進せんとするものであり且つ國際紛爭、國際不安の經濟上の原因を除去せんとするものである

戰爭を法律で禁じ且つ將來の世界保障を設計する完全な協定は多數の人の盡力によつて生れたものである、この憲章は固定した條約ではない、聯合國が設置した機關とその運營方法に經驗をつむならば、將來改正さるべきもので、米國の憲法が改正されたやうに年月がたつと共に改正し得るものである

比島解放 發表さる

（マニラ七月五日發）マクアーサー元帥司令部は特別發表を行ひフイリツピン島の完全解放を報じた、本作戰において日本軍二十三個師團兵員合計四十五萬が事實上撃滅されたとマクアーサー元帥は述べた

久米島無血上陸

（グワム六月三十日發）米軍は沖繩西方八十キロの久米島をなんらの抵抗も受けることなく占領した旨ニミツ元帥は本日のコンミニケで發表した、上陸部隊は直ちに全島くまなく偵察したが日本兵には全然遭遇しなかつたといふ、同島は琉球方面で米軍が占領した十六番目の島で長さ十四キロ幅五キロで飛行場建設に適するといはれる、支那沿岸から約五百六十キロ、九州南端から約六百四十キロに位する

支那の日本軍 退却中と報ず

【重慶七月四日發】ユーピー通信によれば、重慶軍高級司令部は廣西省柳州より十八キロ西北の一都市を占領し、柳州爭奪戰では同市の約一割が炎上したが樞要な飛行場は依然として使用可能であり、尚又敗殘日本守備隊は東北方へ退却中であると報じてゐる

Illustration #10. **Ma-ri-ya-na Ji-ho.** The **Mariana Times** was published by Psychological Warfare Division, CINCPAC-CINCPOA, for both news-to-troops and consolidation propaganda purposes. Colonel Johnston found experienced Japanese newspapermen among the internees and set them to writing columns about Occupied Tinian and Occupied Saipan. Issue shown is 6 July, 20th Year of Showa Emperor (1945).

¶75. PROPAGANDA EQUIPMENT. Propaganda equipment for printing is usually procured from civilian supply. A variety of presses, from the simplest stencilling machine up to offset machines capable of millions of leaflets per month, is available. Radio equipment can be supplied by existing Signal Corps materials, supplemented where necessary by civilian supply. In the India-Burma and China Theaters, there was developed a leaflet-dispensing machine built into an old auxiliary gasoline tank. All the pilot had to do was to set the controls at the number of leaflets per batch and the speed of ejection. He was then ready to fly over jungle territory, pinpointing possible enemy positions with leaflets. In ETO, there was developed the Monroe bomb, a leaflet bomb suitable for controlled dispersal from high-altitude planes. (If loose leaflets are dropped from high altitudes, they will scatter over immense territory and lose their effect.) Other ordnance and related devices are currently under study; information concerning this is available from Propaganda Branch.

Illustration #11. Surrender Passes, West and East. The standard form of each is used. Note prominent use of English on the Japanese; the stripes are a brilliant red, white and blue, since the Japanese soldiers wanted to be sure we knew they were surrendering. The German, on the other hand, had to be reassured that everything was properly official.

IX. Reading List

Books listed here are likely to be procurable at the larger municipal and college libraries. The bibliographies listed below provide a guide to further reading; a very large body of writing exists on the subject. Most of the books on World War II propaganda remain yet to be written.

Stewart ALSOP and Thomas BRADEN, Sub Rosa: The O.S.S: and American Espionage, New York, 1946.

Heber BLANKENHORN, Adventures in Propaganda, Boston, 1919.

[E. G. BORING, editor], Psychology for the Fighting Man, Washington, 1943.

George C. BRUNTZ, Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918, Stanford, 1938.

Philip DAVIDSON, Propaganda and the American Revolution, Chapel Hill, 1941.

Leonard DOOB, Propaganda, Its Psychology and Technique, New York, 1935.

Adolf HITLER, Mein Kampf, various editions; Chapter VI, "War Propaganda"

Harold LASSWELL, Propaganda Technique in the World War, New York, 1938.

Harold LASSWELL, Ralph D. CASEY, and Bruce Lannes SMITH, Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography, Minneapolis, 1935, and its sequel, Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion, A Comprehensive Reference Guide, Princeton, 1946.

Vladimir Ilyitch LENIN, The Teachings of Karl Marx (various editions).

Paul M. A. LINEBARGER, Psychological Warfare, A Practical Textbook (in preparation).

Leo J. MARGOLIN, Paper Bullets, A Brief Story of Psychological Warfare in World War II. New York, 1946.

Karl MARX and Friedrich ENGELS, The Communist Manifesto (various editions).

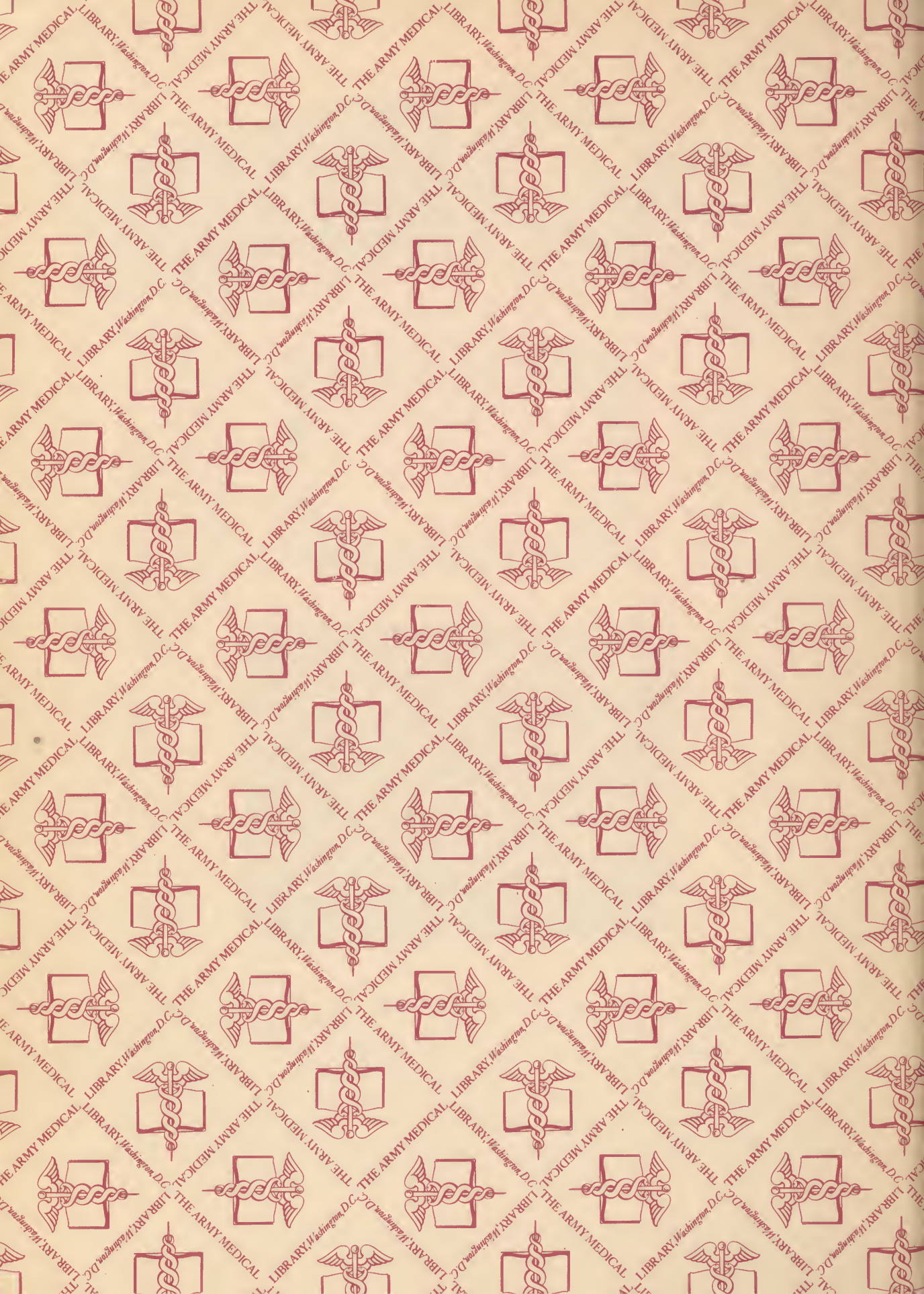
George Fort MILTON, Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column, Washington, 1943.

Edmond TAYLOR, The Strategy of Terror, New York, 1941.

J. P. WARBURG, Unwritten Treaty, New York, 1946.

Pad out for lettering

Illustration #12. Propaganda money from three wars. The French revolutionary bill of the Year 2 (1793-95) modestly circulates the slogans of the French revolution: upper left, "unity and indivisibility of the Republic"; upper right, "liberty, equality, fraternity or--death". The Russian bill, recalled and no longer valid as money, appeals in many languages for the world revolution (1919). The Japanese puppet 10-peso note from the Philippines has been overprinted by the PWB at General MacArthur's headquarters; enemy money carried American propaganda.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